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Name		25th (Wed.)	26th (Thurs.)	27th (Fri.)	28th (Sat.)	29th (Sun.)	30th (Mon.)	31st (Tues.)
Kamba	d	16-mile walk	16-mile walk	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	Leisure	At home	Tree-cutting, 6 hours
His wife	♀	In village	In village (beer-making)	Digging, 5 hours Beer-making	Beer-making	Beer-making	No garden work	No garden work
Mande	d	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	30-mile walk (harvesting)	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	"	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Tree-cutting, 5 hours
His wife	♀	Digging garden, 5 hours	30-mile walk (harvesting)	16-mile walk	In village	Leisure	No garden work	No garden work
Mwisi	d	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Handiwork (basket)	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	Leisure	In village	Tree-cutting, 6 hours
His wife	♀	Beer-making	30-mile walk	No garden work	No garden work	No garden work	16-mile walk	No garden work
Mainde	d	16-mile walk	16-mile walk	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Tree-cutting, 5 hours
His wife	♀	16-mile walk	16-mile walk	No garden work	No garden work	Leisure	Piling branches, 5 hours	No garden work
Cisimbale	d	16-mile walk	16-mile walk	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	Tree-cutting, 6 hours
His wife	♀	16-mile walk	16-mile walk	No garden work	No garden work	Leisure	Piling branches, 5 hours	Digging
Cimbemi	d	Work away for European	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	10-mile walk
His wife	♀	In village	In village	In village	In village	Leisure	6-mile walk	16-mile walk
Mitobo	d	Work away for European	Work away for European	Work away for European	16-mile walk	16-mile walk (visiting)	Work away for European	Work away for European
His wife	♀	Away with husband	Away with husband	Away with husband	16-mile walk	16-mile walk (visiting)	Piling branches, 5 hours	Leisure
Pamulo	d	Work away for European	Work away for European	Work away for European	16-mile walk	16-mile walk (visiting)	Work away for European	Work away for European
His wife	♀	Away with husband	Away with husband	Away with husband	16-mile walk	16-mile walk (visiting)	No garden work	6-mile walk
Finda	d	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Leisure	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 6 hours
His wife	♀	10-mile walk to Chief's village	Away doing Chief's labour	Away doing Chief's labour	10-mile walk	Leisure	6-mile walk	In village
Tolan	d	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 6 hours
His wife	♀	10-mile walk to Chief's village	Away doing Chief's labour	Away doing Chief's labour	10-mile walk	Leisure	Piling branches, 5 hours	Piling branches, 5 hours
Jgaar	d	Employed by anthropologist (cook-boy)	Employed by anthropologist (cook-boy)	Employed by anthropologist (cook-boy)	Employed by anthropologist (cook-boy)	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure
Nsofu	d	Work away for European	Work away for European	Work away for European	Work away for European	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure
His wife	♀	10-mile walk to Chief's court	Tribute labour for Chief	Tribute labour for Chief	10-mile walk home	Leisure	No garden work	8-mile walk (on visit)
Dichemia	d	Work away for European	Work away for European	Work away for European	Work away for European	Leisure	Work away for European	Work away for European
His wife	♀	Employed by anthropologist (domestic work)	Employed by anthropologist (domestic work)	Employed by anthropologist (domestic work)	Employed by anthropologist (domestic work)	Leisure	Employed by anthropologist (domestic work)	Employed by anthropologist (domestic work)
Kapimbi	d	Work away for European	Work away for European	Work away for European	16-mile walk home	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure
His wife	♀	10-mile walk to Chief's court	Tribute labour for Chief	Tribute labour for Chief	10-mile walk home	Leisure	No garden work	No garden work
Mulenga	d	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 5 hours
His wife	♀	10-mile walk to Chief's court	Tribute labour for Chief	Tribute labour for Chief	10-mile walk home	Whitewashing house	No garden work	Piling branches, 5 hours
Wanke	d	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure
His wife	♀	6-mile walk	No garden work	No garden work	Piling branches, 5 hours	Leisure	Piling branches, 5 hours	Piling branches, 5 hours
Dichemia	d	Away at work for European	Away at work for European	Away at work for European	Away at work for European	Leisure	Away at work for European	Away at work for European
His wife	♀	10-mile walk to Chief's court	Tribute labour for Chief	Tribute labour for Chief	10-mile walk home	Leisure	6-mile walk	In village
Nsolola	d	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Leisure	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 5 hours
His wife	♀	10-mile walk to Chief's court	Tribute labour for Chief	Tribute labour for Chief	10-mile walk home	Leisure	Piling branches, 5 hours	Piling branches, 5 hours
Gideon	d	Hunting	Hunting	Hunting	Visiting	Leisure	Hunting	Hunting
His wife	♀	No garden work	No garden work	No garden work	No garden work	No garden work	Baby born	Resting after childbirth
Nsenga	♀	10-mile walk to Chief's court	Tribute labour for Chief	Tribute labour for Chief	10-mile walk home	No garden work	No garden work	No garden work

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TABLE E

Work Diaries Kept in Two Villages for Short Periods

N.B. 'Leisure' means a day spent in sitting, talking, drinking, or doing handicrafts. It has not usually been used for women, since they have much domestic work even on their other days. 'No garden work' therefore seems a more appropriate term to use.
Unless otherwise mentioned 'walks' mean visits to relatives.
The times given are only approximate.

1. WORK DIARY, KASAKA VILLAGE, SEPT. 17TH-OCT. 5TH, 1933

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.	Digging, 3 hours.	Tree-cutting, 4 hours.	Leisure.	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.
[illegible]	No garden work.	No garden work.	No garden work.	No garden work.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Piling branches, 2 hours.	Piling branches, 2 hours.
[illegible]	Leisure.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.	Leisure.	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.
[illegible]	No garden work.	Piling branches.	No garden work.	No garden work.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Leisure.
[illegible]	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.	10-mile walk to [illegible] (Bebing).	Digging, 4 hours.	Leisure.	Leisure.	30-mile walk.	10-mile walk. Hoeing, 3 hours.
[illegible]	No garden work.	Piling branches, 3 hours.	10-mile walk (Bebing).	Hoeing, 4 hours.	Leisure.	Hoeing, 4 hours.	No garden work.	Hoeing.
[illegible]	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.	Tree-cutting, 4 hours.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Tree-cutting, 4 hours.
[illegible]	Piling branches, 3 hours.	Piling branches, 3 hours.	Piling branches, 3 hours.	Piling branches, 4 hours.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Leisure.
[illegible]	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.
[illegible]	No garden work.	Piling branches, 3 hours.	Piling branches, 4 hours.	No garden work.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Leisure.
6 walk	10-mile walk.	Leisure.	10-mile walk.	Away.	Leisure.	Away.	Away.	Away.
6 walk	10-mile walk.	In village.	In village.	In village.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Leisure.	10-mile walk to [illegible].
away for [illegible]	Work away for European. Piling branches, 3 hours.	Work away for European. Piling branches, 3 hours.	Work away for European. Piling branches, all hours.	Home. No garden work.	Leisure.	Away at work for European. Away with [illegible].	Away at work for European. Away with [illegible].	Away at work for European. Away with [illegible].
away for [illegible] walk.	Work away for European. No garden work.	Work away for European. 6-mile walk (Bebing).	Work away for European. No garden work.	Home. No garden work.	Leisure.	Away at work for European. Away with [illegible].	Away at work for European. Away with [illegible].	Away at work for European. 10-mile walk (to [illegible] for European).
[illegible]	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.	10-mile walk.	10-mile walk (Bebing).	10-mile walk.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Headwork.	Tree-cutting, 4 hours.
[illegible]	Piling branches, 3 hours.	In village.	6-mile walk (Bebing).	Piling branches, 4 hr. ish.	Leisure.	No garden work.	No garden work.	10-mile walk (to [illegible] for European).
[illegible]	In village.	Tree-cutting, 4 hours.	10-mile walk. (Bebing).	10-mile walk.	Leisure.	Leisure.	6-mile walk.	Away.
[illegible]	Piling branches, 3 hours.	Piling branches, 3 hours.	10-mile walk. (Bebing).	Piling branches, 4 hours.	Leisure.	No garden work.	No garden work.	No garden work.
[illegible]	Leisure.	Hunting.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Hunting.	Hunting, 4 hours.	Leisure.
[illegible]	Leisure.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Away, working for European.	Away, working for European.	Away, working for European.
walk [illegible]	Away.	Away.	Away.	Away.	Leisure.	Away with [illegible].	Away with [illegible].	Away with [illegible].
away for [illegible] and to [illegible] [illegible] walk).	Work away for European. Employed by [illegible] (Domestic duty).	Work away for European. 10-mile walk (visiting).	Work away for European. 30-mile walk (canoe for European).	Work away for European. 10-mile walk (visiting).	Leisure.	Away, working for European. No garden work.	Away, working for European. No garden work.	Away, working for European. 10-mile walk (canoe for European).
[illegible]	Digging, 3 hours.	Leisure.	10-mile walk. (Bebing).	Leisure.	Leisure.	10-mile walk.	Away, working for European.	Away, working for European.
[illegible] work.	No garden work.	No garden work.	10-mile walk. (Bebing).	No garden work.	Leisure.	No garden work.	Away.	Away.
[illegible]	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.	10-mile walk.	10-mile walk.	Headwork.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Headwork.	Headwork.
[illegible]	Piling branches, 3 hours.	10-mile walk.	No garden work.	Piling branches, 4 hours.	Leisure.	No garden work.	No garden work.	No garden work.
[illegible]	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.	Tree-cutting, all hours.	Tree-cutting, 2 hours.	Leisure.	Leisure.	10-mile walk.	Away.
[illegible]	Piling branches, 3 hours.	No garden work.	Piling branches, 3 hours.	No garden work.	Leisure.	Digging, 3 hours.	No garden work.	No garden work.
at work, [illegible]	Away at work for European.	Away at work for European.	Away at work for European.	10-mile walk home.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Leisure.
[illegible]	In village.	30-mile walk.	10-mile walk.	10-mile walk.	Leisure.	No garden work.	6-mile walk.	10-mile walk. (Gambell)
writing, 2	House building, 2 hours.	10-mile walk.	10-mile walk.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Leisure.	Leisure.
[illegible]	Piling branches, 3 hours.	Piling branches, 3 hours.	6-mile walk.	Piling branches, 4 hours.	Leisure.	Piling branches, 3 hours.	No garden work.	10-mile walk.
[illegible] after work.	House building. Running after children.	Running. Running after children.	Running. Running after children.	Running. Running after children.	Leisure. Leisure.	Running. Inclusive after children.	10-mile walk. Inclusive after children.	In village. Inclusive after children.
[illegible]	No garden work.	No garden work.	30-mile walk.	10-mile walk.	Leisure.	No garden work.	No garden work.	No garden work.

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IIa. WORK DIARY, KAMPAMBA VILL.

Name		Tues. 5th (Wed.)	6th (Thurs.)	7th (Fri.)	8th (Sat.)	9th (Sun.)
Kampamba	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	Chasing hornets, 5 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hunting, 6 hours	10-mile walk
His wife (1)	♀	..	..	..	Hoeing, 3 hours	Visiting
His wife (2)	♀	..	..	..	No garden work	Leisure
Lwali	♂	In village	In village	Making fence, 6 hours	Hunting, 6 hours	Leisure
His wife (1)	♀	..	..	..	Hoeing, 3 hours	Leisure
Fulman	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	In village	Chasing hornets, 4 hours	Hunting, 6 hours	Carrying Chief's sick brother 10 miles
His wife	♀	..	..	..	Gathering mushrooms, 4 hours	In village
Lupasha	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	10-mile walk	Visiting (10-mile walk)	ill	ill
His wife	♀	..	..	..	No garden work	Leisure
Mu'Mutale Ngulu	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	In village	Chasing hornets, 3 hours	Hunting, 6 hours	Carrying Chief's sick brother 10 miles
His wife	♀	..	..	..	No garden work	Sewing, 2 hours
Fungo Fungo	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	Hoeing, 6 hours	Making fence, 6 hours	Hunting, 6 hours	Leisure
His wife	♀	..	..	..	Gathering mushrooms, 3 hours	Sewing, 2 hours
Cikendo Cyprian	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hunting, 6 hours	Carrying Chief's sick brother 10 miles
His wife	♀	..	..	..	ill	Visiting
Kenyele Shikulu Mpundu	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	Chasing hornets, 5 hours	Hoeing, 6 hours	Hunting, 6 hours	Leisure
His wife	♀	..	..	..	Chasing hornets, 5 hours	Leisure
Jimiah	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	6-mile walk	Sewing, 4 hours	Hunting, 6 hours	Leisure
His wife	♀	..	..	..	Chasing hornets, 5 hours	Leisure
Shi'Mpundu Siwaba	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	Chasing hornets, 8 hours	In village	Hunting, 6 hours	Leisure
His wife	♀	..	..	..	Hoeing, 3 hours	Leisure
David	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	Tree-cutting, 4 hours	Visiting (10-mile walk)	Visiting	Visiting
His wife	♀	..	..	..	Hoeing, 6 hours	Leisure
Shi'Mpundu Kalowa	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	In village	Making fence, 4 hours	Visiting (10-mile walk)	Visiting
His wife	♀	..	..	..	Hoeing, 4 hours	Firewood, 2 hours
Paulo Shi-Mpundu	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	Light hoeing, 7 hours	6-mile walk	Hunting, 6 hours	In village
His wife	♀	..	..	..	Hoeing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours
Donati	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	Hoeing, 6 hours	Visiting (8-mile walk)	Hunting, 6 hours	Leisure
His wife	♀	..	..	..	..	Hoeing, 3 hours
Cema Pigeni	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	Hoeing, 6 hours	Visiting (8-mile walk)	Hunting, 6 hours	Leisure
His wife	♀	..	..	..	Hoeing, 4 hours	Leisure
Shikulu Mweka	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	Chasing hornets, 5 hours	Leisure	Hunting, 6 hours	Leisure
His wife	♀	..	..	..	No garden work	Leisure

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MBA VILLAGE, JAN. 4TH-13TH 1934

4th (Mon.)	5th (Mon.)	10th (Tues.)	11th (Wed.)	12th (Thurs.)	13th (Fri.)
...-mile walk	Hoeing, 4 hours	Sowing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 5 hours	Hunting, 6½ hours	Visiting (10-mile walk)
...ting	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Chasing locusts, 3 hours	No garden work
Leisure	Gathering mushrooms, 4 hours	No garden work	No garden work	Visiting away	..
Leisure	Making fence, 6 hours	Making fence, 6 hours	Making fence, 5 hours	Hunting, 6½ hours	Sowing, 3 hours
Leisure	18 miles to buy food	18 miles back	Gathering mushrooms, 5 hours	Gathering mushrooms, 5 hours	No garden work
Carrying Chief's sick brother 10 miles	Hoeing, 4 hours	Sowing, 4 hours	Light hoeing, 2 hours	Hoeing, 6 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours
In village	Hoeing, 5 hours	Sowing, 4 hours	Gathering mushrooms, 4 hours	Hoeing, 6 hours	Gathering mushrooms, 4 hours
Ill	Hoeing, 6 hours	Hoeing, 5 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hunting, 6½ hours	Sowing, 3 hours
Leisure	Gathering mushrooms, 4 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	No garden work	Gathering mushrooms, 3 hours	..
Carrying Chief's sick brother 10 miles	6-mile walk	Hoeing, 3 hours	Light hoeing, 4 hours	Hunting, 6 hours	Hoeing, 6 hours
Sowing, 2 hours	18-mile walk to buy food	18 miles back	Gathering mushrooms, 4 hours	Gathering mushrooms, 3 hours	..
Leisure	Leisure	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 5 hours	Hunting, 6 hours	Light hoeing, 5 hours
Sowing, 2 hours	No garden work	No garden work	Gathering mushrooms, 4 hours	No garden work	..
Carrying Chief's sick brother 10 miles	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Sowing, 3 hours	Hunting, 6½ hours	Hoeing, 4 hours
Visiting	Hoeing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	No garden work	..
Leisure	Thatching, 4 hours	16-mile walk	In village	Hunting, 6½ hours	Hoeing, 4 hours
Leisure	Visiting	Chasing locusts, 4 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	..
Leisure	Hoeing, 2 hours	Chasing locusts, 5 hours	Chasing locusts, 5 hours	Hunting, 6½ hours	Hoeing, 4 hours
Leisure	Chasing locusts, 3 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 5 hours	..
Leisure	Sowing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 6 hours	6-mile walk	Hunting, 6 hours	Cutting grass, 3 hours
Leisure	Away visiting	Chasing locusts, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Visiting	..
Visiting	Visiting	House-building, 4 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours
Leisure	Sowing, 2 hours	No garden work	Hoeing, 4 hours	No garden work	..
Visiting	Ill	Ill	Ill	House-building, 3 hours	Light hoeing, 4 hours
Firewood, 2 hours	Sowing, 2 hours	Sowing, 3 hours	Visiting	No garden work	..
In village	Sowing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	House-building, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours
Hoeing, 3 hours	Visiting	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	..
Leisure	Leisure	Hoeing, 4 hours	In village	Ill	Hoeing, 5 hours
Hoeing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	No garden work	Gathering mushrooms, 4 hours	No garden work	No garden work
Leisure	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing 3 hours,	Sowing, 3 hours	House-building, 3 hours
Leisure	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	Gathering mushrooms, 4 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	..
Leisure	Leisure	Sowing, 3 hours	Sowing, 4 hours	Hunting, 6	Hoeing, 3 hours
Leisure	Hoeing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	Gathering mushrooms, 4 hours	No garden work	..

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2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
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IIb. WORK DIARY (SINGLE WOMEN), KAMPAMBA VILLLAGE, JAN. 7TH-12TH, 1934

Name	Jan. 7th (Sat.)	8th (Sun.)	9th (Mon.)	10th (Tues.)	11th (Wed.)	12th (Thurs.)
[illegible] Kampi	Hoeing, 4 hours	Leisure	Gathering mushrooms, 3 hours	In village	Gathering mushrooms, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours
[illegible] Mumendo	Sewing, 4 hours	Making fence, 4 hours	Making fence, 4 hours	Making fence, 4 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	Fetching logs, 3 hours
[illegible] Honoro Mwaba	Hoeing, 3 hours	3-mile walk	Sewing, 3 hours	Gathering mushrooms, 3 hours	No garden work	Hoeing, 4 hours
NaMumendo	Hoeing, 3 hours	Leisure	Making fence, 4 hours	Making fence, 4 hours	Sewing, 2 hours	Sewing, 2 hours
NaCewe Johanni	Hoeing, 4 hours	Leisure	Hoeing, 4 hours	Gathering mushrooms, 3 hours	Gathering mushrooms, 4 hours	Chasing locusts, 3 hours
NaMukoto Mulalo	Gathering mushrooms, 4 hours	Leisure	Hoeing, 4 hours	Sewing, 3 hours	Gathering mushrooms, 4 hours	No garden work
NaMwandu Kamunwa	Hoeing, 4 hours	Leisure	Sewing, 2 hours	Sewing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	No garden work
Nakulu Conde	Chasing locusts, 4 hours	Fetching firewood, 2 hours	Chasing locusts, 2 hours	Chasing locusts, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Chasing locusts, 2 hours
NaCeunga Kampamba	Sewing, 4 hours	Fetching firewood, 2 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	Gathering mushrooms, 4 hours	No garden work
NaBwalya Sugani	No garden work	Sewing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Gathering mushrooms, 4 hours
Nakulu Kafe	No garden work	Hoeing, 2 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	Sewing, 2 hours	No garden work	No garden work
NaHamere / NaMwaba	No garden work	Hoeing, 4 hours	No garden work	House-building, 4 hours	Gathering mushrooms, 4 hours	No garden work
Nakulu Chimbye	No garden work	Hoeing, 3 hours	Sewing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	No garden work	Chasing locusts, 4 hours
NaMwaba Honori	No garden work	Leisure	No garden work	Hoeing, 4 hours	Gathering mushrooms, 4 hours	No garden work
Numa	No garden work	Gathering mushrooms, 4 hours	No garden work	No garden work	Gathering mushrooms, 4 hours	No garden work
NaKapamba	Hoeing, 3 hours	Visiting (6-mile walk)	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Chasing locusts, 3 hours	No garden work
Nakulu Honori	Hoeing, 3 hours	Visiting (6-mile walk)	Hoeing, 3 hours	Gathering mushrooms, 3 hours	Hoeing, 2 hours	No garden work
NaMwansa Tanufa	No garden work	Leisure	Sewing, 3 hours	Visiting (10-mile walk)	Away	Not back
NaNafa Tolomei	Hoeing, 4 hours	Sewing, 3 hours	No garden work	No garden work	Gathering mushrooms, 4 hours	No garden work
NaMwansa Bowesi	No garden work	Hoeing, 4 hours	No garden work	No garden work	No garden work	No garden work

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KINSHIP CHARTS SHOWING COMPOS

TABLE I *Showing Relationship of Head*

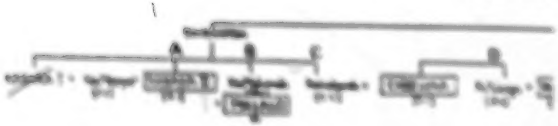
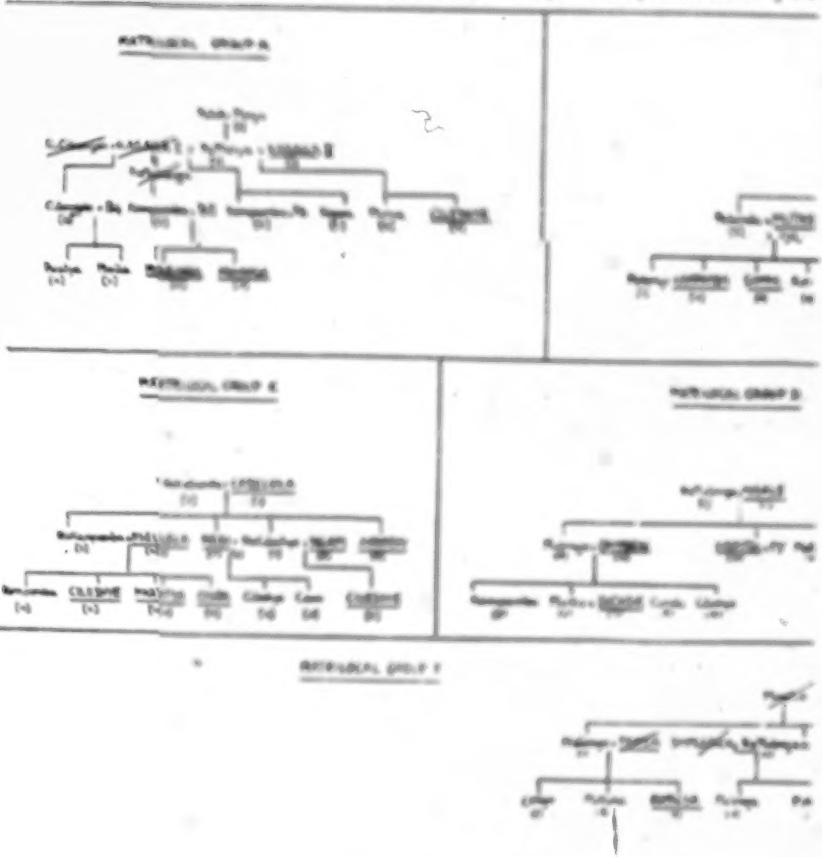


TABLE II *Showing the Dependents of three Heads of Fa*



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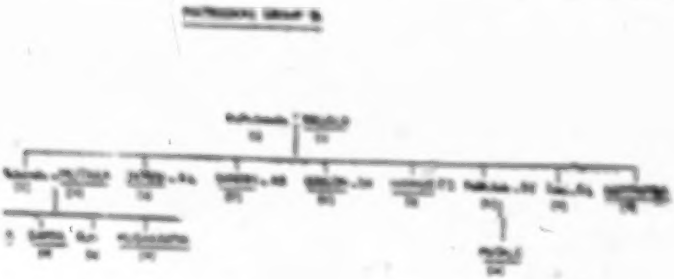
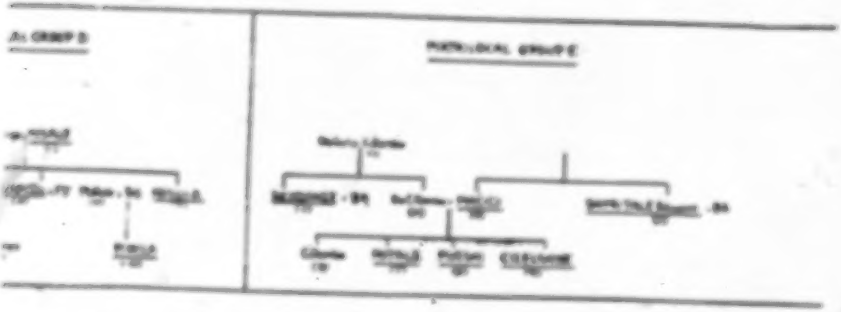
COMPOSITION OF *KASAKA* VILLAGE, 1933

ip of Heads of Families A, B, C, D, E *and* F

Capital letters indicate Men
Small " " Women
Diagonal line indicates Death

eads of Families who make up Five Matrilocal Family Groups





[p. 424A(b)]

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

amused and interested, and the rings of beer foam round everyone's mouth were thought excruciatingly funny.

Finally, there was another rite of 'honouring the *mbusa*'. Nangoshye picked up the pottery emblems and hung beads on them. She offered them ceremonially to the elders in order, singing as a solo this time the precedence song, 'The arm-pit is not higher than the shoulder.'

The women shouted in congratulation to her. They used one of the old praise songs of the chief:

Mpuba mucumbu!
Kwewa! Kwewa!

and greeted her with the nick-name that had been given her during the chisungu, '*Waakishye*' 'You have been refused food'—a reference to the stinginess of the girls' mothers during the ceremony.

The symbolism of this rite is still obscure to me. The making and distribution of beer is one of the married women's most important duties and it is natural that this aspect of the girls' future work should be mimed in the ceremony. Women told me that the rite was to teach the bride to hide a gourd of beer in her hut and to produce it for her husband when the guest had gone. Another added that it was to teach the girls to submit themselves to their husbands (*ukunakila*), the latter perhaps in conjunction with the honouring of the pliant *musenge* tree. The association of beer-making with gardens is obvious in the day-to-day speech of the Bemba and the offering of the pottery emblems known as the 'garden mound' could be interpreted as making the bride free to cultivate her own garden and hence to brew the resultant beer. The garden-mound also symbolises the woman owned and 'cultivated' by her husband (No. 44).

The preparation of the jumping hoop (mupeto)

The two girls were then sent off with some of the younger helpers to fetch a piece of the *mulombwa*, or male tree. They came back carrying a branch on their shoulders and they were left to kneel with it thus with down-cast eyes in the humble attitude (see frontispiece) whilst the older women offered the different *mbusa* to it ritually.

Luapula Peoples

643 At state functions the Kasembe appeared sitting on a stool placed upon
lion-skins. He was shaded by a canopy of umbrellas made of coarse native
292 cotton fabric[1] and wore an elaborate head-dress of scarlet and yellow
293 feathers, the *mucozo* cloth adorned with bead and cowrie ornaments, the
insipo girdle of hide,[2] and the *lukano* armband, emblem of his office.[3]
534 His notables and musicians sat nearby. Ceremonial dancing was performed
to the accompaniment of music.[4] Musical instruments[5] were *marimba*[6]
535 (a sort of xylophone), *chincufo*[7] (a basso drum), *imbirebire* (big conical
drum with cowhide or an elephant's ear stretched over the open end), *gomati*
(two pieces of iron connected by a curved rod). The *mondo*,[8] a hollow
wooden cylinder beated with drumsticks, was used to convey messages by means
of varying combinations of beats. The big sacred *chombuncus* drum,[9] resting
on a lion's skin in Kasembe's palace, was only brought out in wartime to
accompany the armies.

521 Clan and tribal history and family genealogies are favourite subjects
of discussion at beer-drinking parties. District and village rivalry now
526 finds expression in football matches.

BIRTH, MARRIAGE, DEATH

842 The male alone was thought to be instrumental in begetting children.
847 Babies who cut their upper teeth first were destroyed as bearers of bad
luck.[9] An infant is usually given the name of one of its dead ancestors
551 on either the paternal or maternal side; this gives some indication of ancestry. Chinyanta, Lukwesa, Ilunga, Muonga, are characteristic Lunda
names.

The effective exogamous unit is the *cikota*. Preferential marriage is
582 with the *mafyala*, a person whose father is a fellow-clansman of one's mother
or conversely, and particularly with father's sister's daughter. A network
of affinal relationships thus develops between villages. In general there
are no definite preferences leading to marriages between certain clans, but
583 traditional reputations attaching to clans may cause their members to be
regarded as desirable or undesirable marriage partners. Marriage payments
591 are low. Both matrilocal and patrilocal marriages occur, but for the first
few years marriage is usually matrilocal so that the husband can "get
accustomed". He puts up a temporary hut in the *citente* of his parents-in-
law and becomes a member of their extended family. Later the couple are at
liberty to move. Often the parents of both spouses live in the same
village. Lunda marriages tend to be patrilocal. Polygyny is not frequent.
595 The second wife is usually inherited, e.g. she may be one's elder brother's
widow. A man may marry a younger sister of his wife but not an elder sister,
since she is called *mayofyala*, "mother-in-law".

764 The dead are buried in the bush. A *mwali* (see p.86 above) of the deceased takes part in the ceremony. To divert the thoughts of the partici-

(1) Burton, p.254.
(2) Valdez, II, pp.217-8; cf. Livingstone, I, pp.262-3; Burton, p.42; Bowdich, p.9[illegible]
(3) Burton, p.253.
(4) Valdez, II, p.227; Burton, p.114.
(5) Valdez, op.cit., pp.222-4; Livingstone, I, p.305.
(6) Burton, p.112; Valdez, op.cit., p.255.
(7) Gamitto, I, p.343.
(8) ibid., pp.342-3.
(9) ibid., pp.331-2.
(10) Livingstone, I, p.276.

Conclusions.

From this brief history it is possible to pick out several guiding threads. It is obvious that to the Paramountcy the succession is horizontal and direct, but that the system has broken down on several occasions. War has broken the succession definitely once and started a new lineage. An aggressive figure, Chitapankwa B4, turned a foolish Paramount from his stool and disturbed the succession by keeping the post himself instead of allowing the right man, Kapalaula B3, to succeed. The line to the Paramountcy has been rigidly kept since Chitimukulu III but it was nearly broken by Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya C2. No doubt had not a European administration arrived there would have been a constant recurrence of interclan wars.

Another guiding line is that there is no sequence of chiefly names leading to the Paramountcy. Only relationship, place on the genealogical table and seniority count, and a new Paramount may step up from being Mwamba or Nkula or from being a man with no earlier post. There may be a temporary series of names, one following the other, such as is occurring on line D1, D3, D5, D6, D10, at the moment. But, as I show later, the sequence of Chitimukulu, Mwamba, Nkolemfumu, Mpepo need not necessarily be a permanent order of names to the Paramountcy.

It should also be pointed out that for the various reasons given the succession to the Mwamba has been irregular. Only the present Mwamba V D3 inherited directly and without complications. But the principle of horizontal succession has appeared on each occasion and there was some historical or personal explanation of why it was not followed. The Mwamba has grown into the next most important post and the succession in the future will follow still more closely that of the Paramount.

(b) The Mothers of Chiefs (*Namfumu*).

Since the seniority of the chief depends absolutely upon the place of the mother in the genealogical table it is essential to get a clear view of the position of these mothers, or sisters of Paramounts.

Historically, right up until recent years, there have been only two hereditary names of mothers of Paramounts. These names are Chandamukulu and Mukukamfumu. There are several other women who have borne Paramounts but their names have not become hereditary. Nor have they themselves inherited one of the two traditional names of the queen mothers for it is not essential for a woman to have a title in order to bear a Paramount. They may have died before it was their turn to inherit. For example in the present lineage Kanyanta Bwalya A4 died before she could succeed her sister Chandamukulu Chilufya Mulenga A1. The method of succession too deprives many women of the hereditary titles. For the succession to each name is separate and is from sister to sister, or, if there are no sisters, to the granddaughter. Daughters then, except in special circumstances, such as I shall indicate, would not normally succeed to the traditional name of their mother. Although the sons of these daughters would retain their seniority over the sons of the granddaughter in spite of the fact that the granddaughter held the traditional name of a queen-mother. The rules of succession for the sons are not broken because the inheritance of the mother name usually jumps a generation.

643 644 551 Another point to emphasise in connection with these two traditional names of Chandamukulu and Mukukamfumu is that there is no change or advance from one name to the other as with chiefs, for, strictly speaking, all royal houses are equal and it is only possible to state that precedence is by seniority. A Mukukamfumu never becomes a Chandamukulu for the simple reason that one name is as good as the other. The sons of a senior Mukukamfumu are nearer to the Paramountcy than those of a junior Chandamukulu. But whether the sons of this senior Mukukamfumu ever do get the Paramountcy depends merely upon whether the sons of a still more senior *samfumu* outlive hers. We hear of the big house (*ng'anda ikulamba*) and the little house (*ng'anda inono*). The house of Chandamukulu is the big house at the moment because she is the senior daughter of a senior *samfumu*. But deaths could change this in the future and turn the Mukukamfumu's into the big house, for once the name is inherited it is not changed. Chandamukulu and Mukukamfumu are but names and the relative seniority of their mothers decides which is senior at any particular moment.

(i) History.

173 551 644 A brief history of the *samfumu* will bring out many points of succession. Little can be gathered about the earlier lineage. The name Chandamukulu is said to be the oldest name and traditionally the name of the mother of the earliest Chitimukulu', but Mukukamfumu does not make its appearance until the beginning of the present lineage. When Chileshye Chepela A2½ chased away Chimbola and his family it is noteworthy that the name of Chileshye A2's mother was not changed. Dr. Richards (op. cit. (1), page 93) says that the mother of a Paramount succeeds to the fixed name of Chandamukulu. But there is no historical example either in the present lineage or in the old to warrant this statement.

So Mukukamfumu I kept her name when her son became Paramount. The Chandamukulu who was driven away also kept her own name until she died. Then, but not until Chimbola's mother died, did Chileshye A2's elder sister A1 take the name and title of Chandamukulu I in the new lineage. The Chimbola branch of the clan were eventually invited back from beyond the Chambeshi whither they had been driven and given an area on the Weyaya stream. The mother of Chimbolas was given the title of Chanda Weyaya but she must not take this title until she is past child bearing age. She then becomes a *Na babenye* (a mother of the hereditary relics). This arrangement seems to be a very subtle way of preventing Chanda Weyaya from re-claiming the Paramountcy for her sons, because she does not get an hereditary royal title until she cannot produce any more sons. The succession is as with other *samfumu*, from sister to sister then to grand-daughters, but if the heir is still young she does not get the name nor the sacred relics (*babenye*) until she is past child bearing age. The name just " rests " for a period.

644 173 Kanyanta Bwalya A4 died before Chandamukulu I A1 so the descent went direct and correctly to Kangwa Chonya C4 who became Chandamukulu II.

The Mukukamfumu was also inherited correctly by the granddaughter of Mukukamfumu I. Kanyanta Bwalya A4 would not inherit Mukukamfumu as, even if she was alive at the time, there was a granddaughter available. So Kasonde B2 became Mukukamfumu II. Then comes an apparent slip but one that is easily explained. Kasonde Mukukamfumu II

½ [For identification of the Chitimukulu, see pp 44-50. - Analyst]

They stayed alone with only the councillor to care for them for about another five years. Nkumbula E11 was so obviously grown up that Nkula D14's first excuse was definitely invalid now and it was clear that he was just carrying on the struggle to get the relics across to Chinsali. 644 173

Then in 1942 the Paramount took a step that forced Nkula D14's hand. He sent Sampa D22 to the Mukukamfumu relics. It is obvious that the patience of the Paramount and his councillors was exhausted for this appointment was not merely one of looking after the relics. They nominated Sampa D22, the sister of Shimumbi D18 and of the branch of the clan the farthest away from the Paramountcy, to be Mukukamfumu in place of Nkumbula E11. The councillors' attitude was that since Nkula refused to send the right heir then they must put in some one else. So Sampa D22 went to Kabamba but before she could inherit Nkula D14 had seen the danger and quickly sent to say he would send Mukukamfumu back.

The point to notice here is that Chitimukulu did not send either of the two younger sisters of Chandamukulu D7. He could have sent Kasonde D8 or Mubanga D9. But the tendency to keep the families apart was strong. He did not want the Mukukamfumu in his family and the line began by Nakaafya B3 was to be kept distinct. There is no doubt that the tendency to keep the Mukukamfumu and the Nkula in a separate branch of the clan is now a most powerful factor in Bemba politics. It is almost tradition now that the senior house gives these other two important posts to the next junior branch. The Councillors say that the possession of two good posts prevents the junior branch from being too jealous.

So Sampa D22 was the next on the list, as Mutale D21 was dead. She went to Kabamba but shortly afterwards in 1943 the right heir Nkumbula E11 arrived and duly inherited as Mukukamfumu IV. Sampa D22 was extremely angry but she had to go. The Nkula house had lost the fight in one respect and hung on to rights in another way. The attempt to gain complete control of the Mukukamfumu in their own district had failed. But by surrendering at the last moment they had prevented a still more junior branch of the clan from taking their important posts. There is little doubt that had the Mushimba C11 branch obtained the Mukukamfumu they would in time have obtained the Nkula too, insisting on the complete split being made. (I tell in the Nkula section how that chieftainship was put into a branch of its own.)

So we have to-day both a Chandamukulu and a Mukukamfumu in their right places. There is one more important point. In 1943 the Paramount and Council appointed Sampa E12 the younger sister of Nkumbula Mukukamfumu E11 to inherit the name of Mushimba. This is a deliberate attempt to make a third name into an hereditary one. Such a proceeding may lead to complications in future successions. Whether the repercussions will occur or not depends upon what the Council decide about the sons of Mushimba I C11; whether they are to come into the line of succession to the Paramountcy or whether the line is to stop at Bwembia Chikwanda D5. That is the topic of the following subsection.

(ii) The Stop in Horizontal Succession.

One of the most noticable features of this history of the mothers of chiefs is that there have been, until the present day, only the two hereditary names. This seems to be a very significant point. There have been other mothers of Paramounts as can be seen from the table, but the reasons they 644 551

644 551 have never obtained either of the two hereditary names are either because they have died before opportunity arrived or because they were daughters and thus passed over in favour of granddaughters.

644 Another point is that not until the fourth generation in this lineage, in line C, do we find more than two mothers of chiefs of the same generation. In line C the mothers of chiefs are, strictly speaking, four. But since Chandamukulu II C4 and Chandamukulu III C5 are blood sisters and since Chandamukulu II C4 failed to perpetuate her female line through Chilufya D4 the practical effect is to give us now three branches of the clan. The line of the Chandamukulus II C4 and III C5, that of Mukukamfumu C8 and that of Mushimba C 11.

Hence my use in later sections of the terms referring to first, second and third branches of the clan. I think such a use is justified since, as I have said, the two Chandamukulus C4 and C5 are blood connections and because the first portion of the line D as far as D5 is almost finished, its status and seniority being taken over by the second portion.

Such a division is perhaps very arbitrary but it simplifies the following interpretation of the tendencies of chiefly succession.

644 613 622 In earlier lineages there were more than the two or three sisters of Paramounts, but as I shall tell in other sections, their sons were not concerned with the succession to the Paramountcy. They were split off to found separate chieftainships of their own. In talking to the councillors about this they use phrases such as— " they were too far away (on a genealogical horizontal line) to be considered." It seems clear that the councillors have in mind some sort of stop on a horizontal line beyond which a *namfumu* would not be considered as bearing sons eligible for the Paramountcy. Where this stop is, of course, depends upon circumstances such as how many sons a senior *namfumu* produces. In the past, earlier lineages, whether from accident or design two *namfumu* have sufficed and so have two until the fourth generation of this lineage. There is supposed to have been a third sister (or cousin) beyond Bwembia A6 on line A who was founder of the Shimumbi house. See Section 3.

Before going on I should insist that where this stop is made, or if one is necessary at the present time, is a matter for the Superior Native Authority, Chitimukulu and his councillors. Whatever points I make from a historical stand-point I gain from discussion with the councillors, and whatever suggestions I make from an administrative point of view are subject to scrutiny by the Superior Native Authority.

My own belief that the stop comes almost instinctively after a second branch of the clan, is founded firstly on the importance of the fact that there are but two hereditary names of *namfumu*. Also on an authoratative, though guarded, remark from some councillors that whether the present succession stopped with Chikwanda D15 or went on to Kafyama D20 depended solely upon the position in the new generation, line E. In other words if there are powerful claimants or perhaps a sufficient number of claimants for the important posts from the senior but lower generation then the most junior of the higher generation to the right will be considered as " too far away." A propos of the present position one councillor said— " in the past there would have been fighting about it. But now the Government must settle this." From what has been told of Bemba history it would appear that he is right about this being a fighting stage.

Dr. Gluckman pointed out to me that what has been taking place in the Bemba chiefly structure is a feature not only of Bemba history but also of many other African systems. This is a tendency to dichotomy and political struggle for the big posts between the various branches of the clan. The junior branches tend to drift and separate from the main branch and then they have to fight to get back to gain the main chieftainships. The struggles are related to the territorial divisions and the fights and intrigues between the powerful heads of such areas have, in practice, the effect of periodically re-uniting the nation. For, after each civil war, the big posts leading to the Paramountcy are again in a single branch of the family. The Paramount himself takes over the Lubemba area and the tribe is united again until a new drift away of junior branches to become territorial powers recommences. This is not the place for anthropological theorising so I refer these characteristics to the genealogical table[1]. We now have three branches of the clan. The second branch, that of the Mukukamfumu has steadily moved farther away from the Chandamukulu line, but it has succeeded in taking one big chieftainship the Nkula, and perhaps a second, the Chikwanda. Hence the tendency, mentioned by Dr. Richards, for certain chieftainships to become stabilised in definite families, is partially true. (*Op. cit.* (1), page 103.) Unless the junior branch fights, as the Mukukamfumu one is doing, it would eventually move still farther away from the senior branch and find itself left with just its present chieftainships and no hope of getting to the Paramountcy. Any third branch of the clan, as the present Mushimba branch, would also find itself drifting still farther into a little separate line of succession. This has happened to third lines in the earlier and present lineage. (See Section 3.)

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In the past this drifting away of a junior branch has often been stopped by wars and fights in which the junior branch brought itself into the Paramountcy line again. The Chimbola incident is one I have described. But these wars cannot occur in the future and the Bemba chiefly system is at a delicate stage. The old councillor who said that this would have been a fighting period was right. The Mukukamfumu branch has been satisfied, more or less, with the Nkula chieftainship since 1924 and the Chandamukulu branch still to-day says it is willing for the Mukukamfumu branch to follow on after it even to the Paramountcy. There is not much hope of this as I show later. The fact that there are two queen mothers with hereditary names is still a guiding line to succession and I am inclined to think that no son of a Chandamukulu or a Mukukamfumu would be considered as being " too far away " to come into the direct line—at the moment. The Chandamukulu succession must keep switching back to the extreme left, but, if the Chandamukulu has many sisters, daughters, and nieces, as in the present lines D and E, the Mukukamfumu must be pushed farther away to the right. And so her sons will be farther away from the Paramountcy. In time even a descendant of a Mukukamfumu would be " too far away."

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That explanation is of future complications and most of us can see the difficulties in allowing the line to go on indefinitely to the right. To deal with present day succession. Is one stop at least to be made after Chikwanda D15, the last son of a Mukukamfumu ?

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I will continue to refer to Mushimba C11 as the third sister because, as I have explained, her name has now been made into an hereditary one and I have classed, for convenience and because C4's family is at a dead end, the offspring of the two Chandamukulus C4 and C5 as one family. [551]

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 44-50 — Analyst]

613 At the moment, if we continue the line D we find, of the same generation as the reigning chiefs, the sons of the third sister Mushimba C11. She
643 has two sons, Chief Shimumbi IV D18 and Musungu Kafyama [redacted]. If
644 the line is carried right across, these two men are numbers seven [redacted]ht from the Paramountcy. In 1942 Kafyama D20 tried to clai[redacted]nt Mpepo on the grounds that the line should be followed [redacted] across. But, after discussion with Government, the Superior Native Authority disallowed his claim, not because the Authority had considered the principle but because in any case Mutale Nshika D10 was the right heir for he was the so[redacted] of the eldest sister. But with the first death of any of the existing chiefs in the Paramountcy line the principle of succession will have to be decided, for there are no more sons of this generation from the elder sisters. This is the problem. Should the third branch and its offspring be considered at all as claimants for chieftainships leading to the Paramountcy? The fact that such people are of the royal totem does entitle them to chieftainships when available, but does it entitle them to those in the main line and can the sons of any royal sister claim this right?

The third branch of the family naturally asserts that it has this right. But it would be hazardous to state that tribal opinion, or the rule of the hereditary councillors, would support it, for an actual issue has never before been placed before them. The Nkula of a second branch, claimed that the descent was changed to a vertical one in its favour by the long run of Paramountcies from the right of the table. This is a belief based on an axiom that is often quoted in tribal arguments, the axiom that history makes the custom. If we examine the historical position of the third branch of the clan we soon see why their claim to follow on the direct line is still a debatable one.

In actual research I have failed to find any instance of the son of a third sister entering the direct line to the Paramountcy. There are instances that will be given later of the sons of the third sisters becoming chiefs, but such occurrences usually resulted in the formation of separate and distinct lines of chiefs. It may be contended that this was only because death cut them off before their chance came, and that these other chieftainships were created so as to give them a chance of power whilst they were waiting to see what happened to the sons of the elder sisters. That may be, but it is an assumption that cannot now be proved. Violent death in wars and quarrels must have cut off as many scions of the first family as of the third in the past, and it is strange that, although there have been third sisters with sons many times in past lineages, it is only now they are enabled to
613 approach the main line.

643 There are two more historical facts that seem to show that the third
644 sister is not on the same footing as the first two. At the moment only the
●551 two *namfumu* Chandamukulu and Mukukamfumu possess *babenye* or tribal
[178] relics. These are the sacred objects that all chiefs and other tribal personages have and that are inherited with the name and post. Mushimba C11 had none, perhaps only because she had not inherited a name, but this fact alone would place her on a definitely lower plane than the other two women and indicate that she is not really of the same class. I have already told how Mushimba C11 was not allowed to go to Kabamba for fear she should usurp the post and relics of Mukukamfumu. So long as there were two *namfumu* living there was no question then of creating the third one. I have already pointed out that never before has a third name been inherited, although Goodall's big table and the histories of the minor chieftainships

give many examples of third sisters with sons. This also seems to indicate that the third sister was not considered as an important bearer of a name. Mushimba C11 died in 1928 and she was the first of that name. In 1943 the Paramount said that the name of Mushimba should be perpetuated and he called Sampa E12, classificatory granddaughter of deceased, Mushimba II. It should be understood that all names, are inherited. There is a Nakasafya called after B5 but she is not a *namfumu*. But in the case of Mushimba the name now appears again for a second time as a *namfumu* in a direct line of inheritance. But the councillors, in spite of the Paramount's statement, are still undecided as to whether E12 should still retain the name Sampa or be called Mushimba. So that even the perpetuation of a third name is still not completely settled. 551 ● 613 643 644

These historical facts show that in the past, whatever the real reasons may have been, the third sister and her sons were not concerned with the line to the Paramountcy. If they are to be in the future is presumably a matter for the main tribal council, or that part of it concerned with succession, to decide. There are however a few administrative factors which might influence the council either now or in the future. I think I should give them here in order to complete this full discussion of the position of the third branch of the clan. 613 643 644

To restrict all claims to the Paramountcy and its attendant chieftainships to the sons of the elder two sisters only would, of course, simplify the succession considerably. The succession of Bemba chiefs is complicated and intricate mainly because it involves so many chieftainships, which are necessary in a large tribe, and because the system is spread over so many wide-flung administrative districts. When the present Chitimukulu D1 inherited it took a Government enquiry nine months to verify that he was the right man, and only the descendants of two Chandamukulus and a Mukukamfumu were involved. If the line is allowed to continue to the extreme right and involve any number of *namfumu*, then the number of scions who have to be considered will become greater every generation. For death will not simplify matters so easily as it did in the past. This complication by number does not arise when a line of descent goes down vertically, or perhaps I should say, horizontally only in one branch. So that for administrative convenience it would be better to contain the succession within more definite lines. 613 622 643 644

Secondly, with the line restricted there will not be so much shifting of chiefs on promotion from one district to another. For with more emphasis on a vertical descent it is more probable that the man to inherit is not an existing chief but a young man, nephew to deceased, instead of a cousin of the same generation. 622

Thirdly this would help to stop a long succession of old men—brother following brother and cousin following cousin. There would be a more constant stream of younger men obtaining chieftainships. Moreover, this would give Government a chance to educate men who have a reasonable prospect of becoming chiefs. At the moment there are too many men of the same generation to be considered. We have had a series of old, conservative chiefs. It is true that the new people following at the moment are younger but, and this really important, they are all practically of the same age since they are of the same generation. So that in ten years' time we shall again see many important Bemba chieftainships held by old men.

643 644 by Chakwangashya E3 as Nkolemfumu, Mubanga E9 as Mpepo (or else Shimumbi D18 and Kafyama D20). This shows that Dr. Richards statement (*op. cit.* (1), page 103) that the present series of chieftainships is tending to become fixed in the main branch is somewhat misleading. The series can only be fixed if we cease to read the table horizontally and stop at a first or second branch. For example, if the third branch wins its claim to be considered, Kafyama D20 would take the Mpepo on the death of the present Chitimukulu Kanyanta D1 because D3, D6 and D10 would move up and the Mpepo is too small a post for Nkula D14 or Chikwanda D15 or Shimumbi D18. Moreover, in the line D, Chandamukulu Chabili D7 has only one living son Chakwangashya E3 and neither she nor her sister Kasonde D8 are likely to have more offspring. Mubanga D9 has one son and may have more. So it seems in the future that the series of chieftainships mentioned will not stay in the one branch of the clan. (Another possibility that would break the series of names is that if Chikwanda were to die then Nkolemfumu might claim that post because the salary is higher.)

At the moment, on the genealogical table, Mpepo D10 appears as fourth in the line of succession and Nkula D14 the fifth, but the death of any of the first four would bring Musungu Nkula D14 up to number four, whether he kept his present post or not. It is not the actual name that counts but the place in the genealogical table. The present Nkula D14 would not move from his existing post, I imagine, until at least three of the four men ahead of him had died and thus left vacant the Mwamba. He could watch junior men, for example, Kafyama D20 or Chabili's son, E3, taking the Mpepo and the Nkolemfumu and he could still claim his right to the Mwamba or the Chitimukulu before them. There is a very present chance that Chikwanda D15 could become Nkolemfumu if he wished, because both Chitimukulu D1 and Mwamba D3 will probably die soon. But if Chikwanda D15 does become Nkolemfumu, which I doubt since the salary at the moment is less, he could not go on and become Mwamba before his elder brother Nkula D14, unless the latter agreed.

554 622 643 At this point I should emphasise that both as regards prestige and salary there is a distinct break after the three main chieftainships of Chitimukulu, Mwamba and Nkula. At the moment, as I have repeated, a chief called Nkolemfumu happens to be third in succession. But the post is not important by salary or status (see later) and once the present series is broken by the deaths of the two leading chiefs this post of Nkolemfumu will be taken by a man much farther away than third in succession to the Paramountcy. Of the chiefs of royal blood the Chikwanda is now the most important modern post after the first three for he gets the next biggest salary after Nkula on account of the size of his area and population. Hence my statements that Chikwanda D15 will no doubt wait and follow his brother Nkula D14, rather than take a post such as the Nkolemfumu which would give him a lower salary but not jump him nearer to the Paramountcy. That position a man cannot lose whatever chieftainship he takes.

551 622 643 I enlarge on this particular chieftainship of Nkolemfumu in order to show that the mere possession of its name does not bring the holder nearer to the Paramountcy. There are other royal chieftainships paid higher or equal salaries, and since it is only the place in the genealogical table that counts, a holder of one of these can hang on to it until a post such as Nkula or Mwamba becomes vacant. I must emphasise that genealogical seniority entitles a man in theory to claim any of the three leading chieftainships,

not because he happens to be one of a series of names. That is strictly speaking, but as I describe elsewhere the dichotomy of the branches and political considerations have kept the Nkula in one branch for two generations now. 551 622 643

This brings me to another interesting point connected with the break in the series of names. There was a chance that the series might have been Chitimukulu, Mwamba, Nkula in a direct unbroken line. Nkolemfumu Mbonkali D5 stated his intention of claiming the Nkula on the death of Bwalya Nkula IV D12. He contended, and quite rightly, that he was senior to Musungu Chikwanda D14 and could claim it. If he had succeeded we should have had the new series mentioned. A glance at line C2 and C3 shows that an Nkula had been immediately after a Mwamba in the table in the past too.

The fact that Mbonkali D5 did not get the Nkula was due to the same reason that Chikwanda III C6 was not followed by D1, 2, 3 or 4. That there was the desire to give the branch of Mukukamfumu one or more of the higher posts. That was the reason openly given in 1934 when Bwalya Nkula IV D12 died. Such a reason emphasises the dichotomy of families, and Dr. Richards' statement that certain chieftainships are being stabilised in certain branches of the family may be true in a limited way such as this. But it is a dangerous argument for the present junior branches to press because if carried to logical conclusions it would freeze such chieftainships as the Nkula and Shimumbi in their own lines and tend to imply that they could not leave them to pass to the Mwamba. The tendency to split as regards the Nkula branch only started one generation back in line C in the present lineage, and some of the arguments given in the last subsection against the promotion of the third branch of the family could equally well apply for the restricting of the second branch to its own line. However that is a matter that is the future concern of the Superior Native Authority and Government. 622

Nkula D14 would take the post of Mwamba because the salary is bigger and perhaps because the status is higher too. Nkula V D14 makes a great show at the moment of not waiting for intervening deaths but of claiming the Paramountcy direct after Chitimukulu Kanyanta D1. But, as a glance at the genealogical table proves, all he has the right to do is to follow after the present Mpepo D10 to whatever post that chief attains. Nkula's mother C8 was junior to the mother C5 of Nkolemfumu D6 and Mpepo D10, so that Nkula D14 is junior to them in the right of succession. [554]

(*d*) Conclusion.

There are one or two interesting explanations necessary to complete this description of the line to the Paramountcy. 643

The status of the three or four leading chiefs seems puzzling at times. The Mwamba has often fought against the Chitimukulu. The Nkula has not, but perhaps only because the Nkula is a comparatively recent post and has not had the necessary time to build up power. There are several occasions on which Nkula might have fought had there been no European administration to restrain him. 622 643 669

Generally speaking, as Dr. Richards indicates, authority, power and prerogatives depend upon descent and kinship and all branches of the royal clan can claim connection with the original family of which a traditional Chitimukulu was head. 643 [614]

643 Chitimukulu was head. The Chitimukulu is the oldest name of a royal
[551] chief. It is the name carried by the most senior member of the crocodile totem and as such it demands the most respect. The sway of a Chitimukulu is as much moral and spiritual as temporal. His temporal power too is the greatest of the chiefs. He lives in and rules Lubemba, the stronghold of the tribe, and in the beginning all appointments of chiefs to help him hold the widening sphere of Bemba rule came from him. He also has the largest number of people in his own area.

622 The Mwamba only appears as a hereditary chief two generations before the present lineage and his area and population are still much smaller than the Paramount's, even after some Mwambas have increased their power by war against the Paramount. Thus by tradition and age the Mwamba is second to the Paramount though at various times he has made himself politically independent of the Paramount (5).

The Nkula is the most recent of the main appointments. I tell the history of it in Section 2 and the high status is no doubt partly due to the fact that the modern Nkula is a continuation of a chieftainship once held by a senior house. I believe also that geography has helped to make him so powerful as well as the fact that the house now is that of the second senior mother. The Chambeshi is said to be a religious boundary as well as a
[643 geographical one. A Paramount has occasionally crossed it but only after
788] performing a ceremony including the dropping of beads into the river. Thus Nkula has built up a geographical power to the east of the Chambeshi. The genealogical drift of the Mukukamfumu branch of the clan away from the Paramountcy has emphasised his independence. But the age of his title puts him below Mwamba in status although now his population is much larger.

[551] The name Nkolemfumu is older than Nkula but the reason Nkula is now higher in status is because there has been a gap in the continuity of the Nkolemfumu name and because the Nkula now has part of the area that was the care of Nkolemfumu. The old Nkolemfumu lived to the west of the Chambeshi, as now, but his sway stretched across into part of what is now Nkula's country. When Chitimukulu Chileshye Chepela A2 usurped the throne an Nkolemfumu had just died. Chileshye A2 had no one to send to inherit the place (Bwembia A2 was a fool) so he brought all the *babenye* relics and gave them to the care of Mwamba who also took over most of the area. When Chitapankwa B4 became Chitimukulu he usurped the Nkula for his family, giving his brother Sampa B4 as Nkula I the old Nkolemfumu area to the east of the Chambeshi. Later he re-created a smaller Nkolemfumu which he gave to Mubanga Chipoya C2, who thus became Nkolemfumu I of a new lineage.

551 There is thus no doubt about the traditional order of status of the
554 three leading names. Chitimukulu is first, Mwamba is second and Nkula
622 third. Beyond that I doubt if it is possible to say more than that status
643 perhaps follows genealogical closeness to the Paramountcy. The Mwamba probably will stick as second, even in genealogical closeness, from now on, but Nkula comes third in status by tradition as well as in modern importance however far away to the right he may be on a genealogical table.

622 The Nkolemfumu succession has gone fairly regularly since Mubanga Chipoya C2, the first of the name in the new lineage. When he died, Mutale Sichansa C3 and Chikwanda C6 were involved in the Nkula and Chikwanda